

*Honourable Henry Dundas —*

A

# LETTER

TO THE

CLERGY OF CORNWALL

RESPECTING THE

COUNTY LIBRARY,

AND

THE VIEWS OF  
THEORISTS, REPUBLICANS

AND

LEVELLERS,

ADDRESSD

Both to the CLERGY and LAITY,

IN

OBSERVATIONS

ON

POPULAR DISCONTENTS

AND ON

EQUALITY.

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THE VIEWS OF  
THEORISTS, REFORMERS

LEVER

ADDRESS

Book to the Country and Daily

OBSERVATIONS

POPULAR DISCONTENTS

AND ON

EQUALITY

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# A LETTER TO THE CLERGY OF CORNWALL.

REV. SIR,

I Beg leave to congratulate you as a brother Clergyman on the establishment of a County Library. Not to mention the benefit that will arise from it to the Laity, (in whose welfare we must be always interested,) an institution of this nature will be peculiarly useful to us of the Clergy. When we leave the University to settle in the Country in Curacies or Livings, few of us are well provided with Books. If we marry, we do not always find it very convenient to increase our Collections by new purchases. If Genius or Leisure excite us to engage in literary pursuits, our distance from London and Libraries, especially in these Western parts of the Island, make it almost impossible for us to obtain that information on any subject, which is requisite to enable us to treat it with propriety. Few private Gentlemen in our different Parishes have numerous or valuable Collections, and may not always be disposed to open them to our curiosity. The same causes discourage us from pursuing any particular branch of Study for our own private Satisfaction. The present Institution is likely to supply all these defects, and remove all these impediments. From what has been already subscribed in so short a time, the daily increase of Subscribers, and the countenance and support given to the Library and Museum by the first names in the County, it is probable that within a very few years, the Library of the County of Cornwall will contain a very numerous and valuable collection of useful and entertaining volumes. It will be open to us at the moderate sum of two guineas the first Year, and only one afterwards, a sum which every one may afford without any inconvenience. Distance from the Library need be no objection, as we are informed it is the intention of the Committee to fall upon methods  
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of transmitting the Books, and particularly the new Publications, without any trouble or expense to Individuals, to every part of the Dutchy.

We may flatter ourselves, that such an Institution will excite the emulation and attention of our Brethren, to useful and interesting subjects, and particularly to what relates to the Natural History, Antiquities, and Biography of the County. By their united exertions, assisted by those of the Gentry who cultivate Letters, a better, a fuller and more comprehensive account may be given of Cornwall than has yet appeared. Many interesting particulars, omitted or unknown to Borlase, may be brought to light and communicated. Whatever relates to Population, to Agriculture, Mineralogy, Botany, Ærology, may be investigated and elucidated. In this way, owing to the exertions of the Clergy, animated and solicited to the pursuit by a Country Gentlemen, a learned and worthy Baronet, a curious and judicious account has been lately given, not of a single County but of a whole Sister Kingdom. And allow me to observe, that such pursuits as these will not only serve agreeably to amuse us, but likewise to do us credit among our Parishioners of every rank and degree, (on which the success of our Ministry so much depends) and are surely preferable to either husbandry, or the sports and exercises of the Field. From the first of these we are prohibited by the laws of our Country, as tending too much to secularize us, and as to the other, it is very well known that it too often gives umbrage and occasions little coolnesses and dislikes between us, and those Gentlemen, who still attached to Feudal Rights, are tender and tenacious of their Game, and still delight in the Amusements and sports of the Down and the Stubble. (a)

Indeed, it must be acknowledged, that if our occupations or amusements resemble those of the Laity, and Generality, we shall not probably be able to do all that good which our situations and duty require from us. This we ought particularly to consider when the enviers and maligners of our Church and State, are so busy in inveighing against us; when they seem to grudge us the moderate provision secured to us by the wisdom of the Constitution and the donations of piety; when they would deface, and destroy, the beautiful gradation of order, and rank in our Hierarchy, by substituting in its place, an impolitick, levelling, and dispiriting Equality; (b) when they call in question the Scriptural right of Tithes, the most ancient, the most universal, and notwithstanding all the selfish



selfish and illiberal declamation and invective on the subject, by as wise, and good Men, as any of our present Reformers of the World, judged the best and least exceptionable mode of supporting an Established Church; when they even affect to slight and condemn both ourselves and Office; for it is in an old and a just observation, that disrespect for the Clergy is not far from disrespect for Religion, and we see it verified this very day and in our own times, in a neighbouring, distracted, infatuated Kingdom, who may be justly said to have plundered the Church, exiled her Ministers and proscribed their God.

Considering these narrow, impracticable, and pernicious views of Theorists and Sectaries, it behoves us to be circumspect, to look around us, and to oppose the diffusion of opinions so destructive of true Religion and good Government; and as the leisure of the Clergy cannot be so properly employed as in reading, study and the pursuits of Literature, it is hoped they will avail themselves of the present Institution, and communicate to the Committee, at their monthly sittings, the result of their observations and researches. Thus by degrees a Literary Society may be formed, and in time perhaps, their transactions may become so valuable as to be deemed worthy of Publication, like those of the Royal and Antiquarian Societies, at least, they may be repositied as Manuscripts in the Library to be resorted to by those who are curious or interested in what regards their native County.

The views suggested in this address, will I trust apologize for it, from one who believes what he professes; who wishes the Clergy to continue to be both pious and learned, and that reverence and respect for Religion and her Ministers may be increased; who thinks there is an intimate connection between Religion and Government, and that in the present state of things, any attempt at innovation, even by improvement, would be injudicious, impolitick and hazardous. And may the folly, the madness and the wickedness (for it well deserves the name) of our Neighbours on the Continent, (dreadful warnings and lessons) admonish us not to be so weak; and infatuated as to endanger by attempts at Theoretical\* perfection, the most moderate, the wisest and the best Government

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\* That great judge of Human Life and manners (Dr. Johnson) was of opinion that much consideration should be paid to the opinions and practices of the word

vernment (whatever may be its defects) I verily believe that the Human Race, in any Country, or in any period of its existence, was ever blessed with. Let then Loyalty and Learning continue to be distinguishing characteristicks of the Church of England. Let us persevere to cultivate Literature and Science, to recommend and inforce subordination, (c) reverence and submission to Legal Government, to the King as Supreme and to all Inferior Magistrates and Governors, to respect Birth, Nobility, Title, Station and Fortune (d) (generally and with very few exceptions best entitled to it, †) to hold in abhorrence and detestation the intrigues, machinations and pernicious views and opinions of Disaffection, Faction and Schism, to go on to practice ourselves, and recommend to others, the divine injunction of the inspired Apostle *Fear God and Honour the King.* †

I am, Rev. Sir,

Your affectionate Brother.

world sanctioned by experience : He neither approved of new modes of education, nor of new Theories of Government. Vid. Mr. Boswell's Life of that great man. Vol 1. p. 314.

† In Johnson's opinion, the higher you go in Rank and Fortune, the more you find of virtue and nobleness of mind.

Rom. xiii. † To exhort every soul to be subject unto the higher  
 1. Powers; to render tribute to whom tribute is due, fear to  
 xiii. 7. whom fear honour to whom honour; to study to be quiet and  
 Thess. to do their own business and to be content with such things as  
 iv. 11. they have. Servants to be obedient unto their own masters,  
 Heb. xiii. not with eye-service, and to please them in all things, not  
 5. answering again, not purloining, but shewing all good fide-  
 Epist. to lity; to warn and caution our fellow subjects not to be car-  
 Titus ii. ried about with divers and strange doctrines, to obey those  
 9. 10. that have the rule over them and submit themselves: To submit  
 Hebrews themselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake;  
 xiii. 17. whether it be to the king as supreme, or unto governors, as unto  
 Epist. them that are sent by him for the punishment of evil doers and  
 Gen. Pe- for the praise of them that do well. For so is the will of God,  
 ser. ii. 13. as free and not using their liberty for a cloke of licentiousness,  
 14. 15, 16



(a) There is a sarcastical, and even gross remark in the polite Lord Chesterfield's Letters on this propensity of country gentlemen to the sports of the field. His words are, There are liberal and illiberal pleasures, as well as liberal and illiberal arts. There are some pleasures that degrade a gentleman, as much as some trades do. Sottish drinking, indiscriminate gluttony, driving coaches, rustic sports, such as fox-chases, horse-races, &c. are in my opinion infinitely below the honest and industrious professions of a taylor or a shoe-maker, which are said to *derogate*. Let. 148. And in another passage, still, if possible more severe, The French manner of hunting is gentlemen-like, ours is only for bumpkins and boobies. The poor beasts here, are pursued and run down by much greater beasts than themselves; and the true British fox-hunter is most undoubtedly a species appropriated and peculiar to this country, which no other part of the Globe produces. Let. 230. He seems to have in his eye, the fox-hunters and sportsmen described in the Essays and Comedies of the last age, none of which are I believe now to be found. And as to the exercise of hunting, taken in moderation, as wise and good men as his Lordship have thought differently on the subject. Not to mention modern authors, Xenophon, statesman, moralist and historian and one of the most amiable and polite characters of Greece, wrote a treatise on the art and both practised it himself and recommends it to others. And surely we are justified in saying that gentlemen are better employed in such innocent amusements, than in composing and weaving systems and webs of duplicity and immorality deliberately and on principle.

(b) It is wise policy so to mingle a sense of duty and a regard to interest that men may have reason to think they act intirely from the first: indeed a sense of duty alone, is not sufficient to influence the generality of men; it must be blended with something that concerns private advantage, fortune, fame, station. With regard to the revenue of the Church and a parity in it, a patriotic Bishop and a correct Judge says, The Revenue of the Church of England is not, I think, well understood in general; at least I have met with a great many very sensible men, of all professions and ranks, who did not understand it. They have expressed a surprise, bordering on disbelief, when I have ventured to assure them, that the whole income of the Church, including Bishopricks, Deans and Chapters, Rectories, Vicarages, Dignities and Benefices of all kinds, and even the two Universities with their respective Colleges, which being Lay Corporations ouhgt not

to be taken into the account, did not amount, upon the most liberal calculation, to 150000<sup>of</sup> a year. Hence he draws this inference, that if we had no Bishops to inspect and govern the Church; no Deaneries, Prebends, or Canonries to stimulate the Clergy to excel in literary attainments; no Universities or Colleges (which with all their faults are the best Seminaries of Education in Europe) to instruct our youth; nothing but Parochial Clergy, and all of these provided for by an equal partition, notwithstanding the great inequality of their merits, of the present Ecclesiastical Revenues, there would not be, estimating the number of the Clergy at ten thousand, above 150<sup>of</sup> a year for each individual, a sum not much to be envied them. Apothecaries and Attornies, in very moderate practice, make as much by their respective professions; without having been at the same expenses with the Clergy in their Educations, and without being like them, prohibited by the laws of their Country, from bettering their circumstances, by uniting to the Emoluments of their professions, the profits resulting from farming or any kind of trade.

I do not introduce these remarks, in this place, with any intention of finding fault with the State, for its not having made a better provision for its Clergy; but merely with a view of rectifying the misconceptions, removing the prejudices, and lessening the envy of many, otherwise well disposed persons, towards the Church Establishment. The whole Provision for the Church is as low as it can be, unless the State will be contented with a beggarly and illiterate Clergy, too mean and contemptible to do any good either by precept or example, unless it will condescend to have Taylors and Cobblers for its Pastors and Teachers. The late Lord Chatham said "the Church (God bless it) has put a pittance."—No is this pittance itself to be enviously regarded, as the hereditary property of any particular class of people; it does not belong to the Tribe of Levi; we none of us lay any claim to any part of it in consequence of our being descended from this or that family. The property of the Church is the real property of those who at present possess it, but it may be esteemed the reversionary property of every family in the Kingdom. It is somewhat that every man has a title to, over and above that which he can produce his Parchments for. Look at the possessors of Bishopricks, Deaneries, Prebends Rectories and all the other Emoluments of the Church, and you will find them descended from the Nobility, the Gentry, the Commonalty, from all ranks, professions, and orders of the State. I know some Men who are of opinion that it would be useful



ful to the State to reduce all the Clergy, as nearly as possible, to the same level, both in rank and fortune; I wonder that they do not think it would be useful to the State, to reduce all the officers in the Navy and Army, to the rank and income of Lieutenants and Ensigns. "And if a foreigner may tell you his mind from what he sees at home; it is this part of your establishment (*Inequality*) that makes your Clergy excel ours. Do but once level all your preferments and you will soon be as level in your learning. For instead of the flower of the English youth, you will have only the refuse sent to your academies; and those too cramped and crippled in their studies for want of aim and emulation, so that if your free-thinkers had any politics, instead of suppressing your whole order, they should make you all alike." Bishop Watson's Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

(c) In opposition to the wild dreams of Levellers and Republicans let us attend to the sentiments of the same wise and good man on the subject of subordination. Mr. Dempster having endeavoured to maintain that intrinsic merit *ought* to make the only distinction amongst mankind. J. "Why, Sir, mankind have found that this cannot be. How shall we determine the proportions of intrinsic merit? Were that to be the only distinction amongst mankind, we should quarrel about the degrees of it. Were all distinctions abolished, the strongest would not long acquiesce, but would endeavour to obtain a superiority by their bodily strength. But, Sir, as subordination is very necessary for society, and contentions for superiority very dangerous, mankind, that is to say all-civilized nations, have settled it upon a plain, invariable principle, a man is born to hereditary rank; or his being appointed to certain offices gives him a certain rank. Subordination tends greatly to human happiness. Were we all upon an equality, we should have no other enjoyment than mere animal pleasure."—He again insisted on the duty of maintaining subordination of rank. "Sir, I would no more deprive a nobleman of his respect than of his money. I consider myself as acting in the great system of society, and I do to others as I would have them do to me. I would behave to a nobleman as I should expect he would behave to me were I a nobleman and he Sam. Johnson. Sir, there is one Mrs. Macaulay in this town, a great republican. One day when I was at her house, I put on a very grave countenance, and said to her, Madam, I am now become a convert to your way of thinking. I am convinced that all mankind are upon an equal footing, and to give you an unquestionable proof, madam, that I am in earnest, here is a very sensible, civil, well-

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well-behaved fellow citizen, your footman, I desire that he may be allowed to sit down and dine with us. I thus, Sir, shewed her the absurdity of her levelling doctrine. She has never liked me since. Sir, your levellers wish to level *down* as far as themselves; but they cannot bear levelling *up* to themselves. They would all have some people *under* them; why not then have some people *above* them?" I mentioned a certain author who disgusted me by his forwardness, and by shewing no deference to noblemen into whose company he was admitted. J. "Suppose a shoemaker should claim an equality with him as he does with a Lord; how would he stare? Why, Sir, do you stare? (says the shoemaker) I do great service to society. 'Tis true I am paid for doing it; but so are you, Sir, and I am sorry to say it, better paid than I am, for doing something not so necessary: for mankind could do better without your books than without my shoes. Thus, Sir, there would be a perpetual struggle for precedence, were there no fixed, unvariable rules for the distinction of rank, which creates no jealousy, as it is allowed to be accidental." On his favourite subject of subordination, Johnson said, "Sir, so far is it from being true that men are naturally equal, that no two people can be half an hour together, but one shall acquire an evident superiority over the other."

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Talking of old families and the respect due to them. B. Why, Sir, it is one more incitement to a man to do well.

J. "Yes, Sir, and it is a matter of opinion, very necessary to keep society together. What is it but opinion, by which we have a respect for authority, that prevents us, who are the rabble, from rising up and pulling down you who are gentlemen from your places, and saying, We will be gentlemen in our turn? Now, Sir, that respect for authority is much more easily granted to a man whose father has had it than to an upstart, and so Society is more easily supported. I told him that Mrs. Macaulay said, she wondered how he could reconcile his political principles with his moral; his notions of inequality and subordination with wishing well to the happiness of mankind, who might live so agreeably, had they all their portions of land, and none to domineer over another. J. Why, Sir, I reconcile my principles very well, because mankind are happier in a state of inequality and subordination. Were they to be in this pretty state of equality, they would degenerate into brutes;—they would become Monboddos' nation;—their tails would grow, Sir, all would be losers, were all to work to all:—they would have no intellectual improvement. All intellectual improvement arises

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& 70.

p. 396.

from leisure: all leisure arises from one working for another.

(d) as



(c) As he was a zealous friend to subordination, he was at all times watchful to repress the vulgar cant against the manners of the great. High people, Sir, (said he) are the best; take a hundred ladies of quality, you'll find them better wives, better mothers, more willing to sacrifice their own pleasure to their children than a hundred other women. Tradeswomen, (I mean the wives of tradesmen) in the city, who are worth from ten to fifteen thousand pounds, are the worst creatures upon earth, grossly ignorant, and thinking viciousness fashionable. \* Farmers, I think, are often worthless fellows. Few Lords will cheat, and if they do, they'll be ashamed of it: farmers cheat and are not ashamed of it: they have all the sensual vices too of the nobility, with cheating into the bargain. There is as much fornication and adultery among farmers as among noble men. \* He means the engrossing farmers near London.

B. The notion of the world, Sir, however is, that the morals of women of quality are worse than those in lower station. J. Yes, Sir, the licentiousness of one woman of quality makes more noise than that of a number of women in lower stations; then, Sir, you are to consider the malignity of the women in the city against women of quality, which will make them believe any thing of them, such as that they call their coachmen to bed. No, Sir, so far as I have observed, the higher in the rank, the richer ladies are, they are the better instructed and the more virtuous." These are inferences of an observing and penetrating mind. p. 266.

## O F

## POPULAR DISCONTENTS.

AS the Times are so Critical and alarming, as every art, open, and indirect is put in practice to excite discontent, tumult and sedition, as unprincipled, and ambitious declaimers (ungrateful for the blessings they enjoy under so mild a government) are countenancing and abetting the unconstitutional and treasonable practices and correspondence of the enemies of our Constitution at home, in confederacy with our enemies abroad, it may, perhaps, be of use to submit the following observations of a wise, virtuous and experienced Statesman, not a Speculative Theorist, on the Causes of Popular Discontents, to the attention of the considerate and well-disposed, and indeed

deed of all ranks and descriptions of men. They will here see to what they are generally owing, and from what motives and with what views, restless, turbulent and ambitious spirits have opposed the wise and equitable measures of the governments under which they happened to live, and what has too frequently been the issue of such opposition and how fatal to those States and often to the leaders themselves.

He is speaking of those circumstances in which we differ from other animals; after enumerating several, "*he instances a certain restlessness of mind and thought, unsatisfied with what we are, or what we at present possess or enjoy, still raving after something past or to come, and by griefs, regrets, desires, or fears ever troubling and corrupting the pleasures of our senses and of our imaginations, the enjoyments of our fortunes, or the best productions of our reasons, and thereby the content and happiness of our lives.*"

This is the true, natural and common source of such personal dissatisfaction, such domestic complaints and such *popular discontents*, as afflict not only our private lives, conditions and fortunes, but even our *civil states and governments*, and thereby consummate the particular and general infelicity of mankind, which is enough complained of by all that consider it in the common actions and passions of life, but much more in the *factions, seditions, convulsions and fatal revolutions* that have so frequently and in all ages, attended all or most of the governments in the world." He then gives instances in various ancient and modern governments. He proceeds, "This restless humour, so general and natural to mankind, is a weed that grows in all soils and under all climates, but seems to thrive most and grow fastest in the best."

From this original fountain issue those streams of Faction, that overflow the *wisest constitutions and governments and laws*, and many times treat the *best Princes and truest Patriots*, like the *worst tyrants and most seditious disturbers of their country, and bring such men to scaffolds, that deserved statues, to violent and untimely deaths, that were worthy of the longest and happiest lives.*" He proves this by examples taken from ancient and modern history; had he lived in our days he might have taken them from a modern and neighbouring kingdom, where a virtuous and amiable Prince, who has voluntarily done more to ease and gratify his subjects and correct and improve the government of his kingdoms than all the long series of his Predecessors, has been treated with such indignity, such outrage and such diabolical inhumanity as if he had been the vilest of tyrants; and all those who adhered to him or wished for a moderate, improved constitution have  
either



either been murdered in the most shocking manner, their mansions burnt, their wives and daughters violated, their estates seized upon, and confiscated, or if they and their families could escape from the flames and the assassins, they have been driven into banishment, by a lawless mob instigated by Theoretical Ruffians, to depend for subsistence on the humanity of strangers or to die of absolute want and misery. This is a sample of those rights of man which some would introduce into this Country, and these some of the noble effects that would flow from Equality, *Licentiousness*, falsely called *Liberty*, and no King. \*\*

There is no theme so large and so easy, no discourse so common and so plausible, as the *faults or corruptions of governments, the miscarriages or complaints of Magistrates; none so easily received, and spread, among good and well meaning men, none so mischievously raised and employed by ill, nor turned to worse and more disguised ends.* No governments, no times, were ever free from them, nor ever will be, till all men are wise, good, and easily contented. No civil or politic constitutions can be perfect or secure, whilst they are composed of men, that are for the most part passionate, interested, unjust, or unthinking, but generally and naturally *restless and unquiet; discontented with the present, and what they have, raving after*

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\*\* Mr. Young's late Tour in France gives one some idea of the horrible effects of what is called the French Revolution. No security to property; bands of armed lawless peasants, prowling over the Country, burning castles and mansions, first polluting them with insult, rape and murder; seizing by force and consuming in waste and riot the property of the industrious farmer and shop-keeper; the inns crowded with noble fugitives, not only of those who had perhaps abused their power and strained their authority a little too far, but also of those of the most amiable and virtuous characters, who had diffused comforts and blessings round their neighbourhoods. Yet such is the return they receive from the common people, who are uniformly void of gratitude, envious of their superiors, and when once let loose and unrestrained by the fear and dread of Law and Punishment, are more unfeeling, more cruel and savage than wild beasts. Of the truth of this observation, since 1791, when Mr. Young wrote his Tour, we have had innumerable instances (barbarity blended with wantonness) which force our blood to run cold, and almost make us ashamed of our Human Nature.

ter the future, or something they want, and thereby ever disposed and desirous to change. This makes the first and universal default of all governments.

Another cause of distempers in states, and discontents under all governments, is the unequal condition that must necessarily fall to the share of so many and so different men that compose them. In great multitudes, few in comparison are born to great titles or great estates; few can be called to public charges and employments of dignity or power, and few by their industry and conduct arrive at great degrees of wealth and fortune; and every man speaks of the fair as his own market goes in it. All are easily satisfied with themselves and their own merit, though they are not so with their fortune; and, when they see others in better condition whom they esteem less deserving, they lay it upon the ill constitution of government, the partiality or humour of Princes, the negligence or corruption of Ministers. The common sort of people always find fault with the Times, and some must always have reason. Seasons which cannot be remedied, accidents that could not be prevented, miscarriages that could not be foreseen, are often laid upon the Government, and, whether right or wrong, have the same effect of raising or increasing the common and popular discontent.— Besides the natural propension, and the inevitable occasions of complaint from the dispositions of men, or accidents of fortune; there are others that proceed from the very nature of government. None was ever perfect or free from very many and very just exceptions. He proves this to have been the case in the republics of Athens, of Carthage and of Rome, and then draws this inference indeed a perfect scheme of government seems as endless and as useless a search, as that of the universal medicine, or the philosopher's stone; never any of them out of our fancy, never any like to be in our possession.

He then goes on with great good sense and great knowledge of mankind to observe there is one universal division in all states, which is between the innocent and criminals; and another between such as are, in some measure, contented with what they possess by inheritance, or what they expect from their own abilities, industry or parsimony; and others who dissatisfied with what they have, and not trusting to those innocent ways of acquiring more, must fall to others, and pass from just to unjust, from peaceable to violent. The first desire safety, and to keep what they have; the second are content with dangers, in hopes to get what others legally possess; one loves the present state and government, and endeavours to secure it; the other desirous to end this game, and shuffle for a new one



one loves fixed laws, and the other arbitray power; yet the last, *when they have gained enough by factions and disorders, by rapine and violence, come then to change their principles with their fortunes, and grow friends to established orders and fixed laws.* So the Normans of old, when they had divided the spoil of the English lands and possessions, grew bold defenders of the ancient Saxon customs, or common laws of the kingdom, against the encroachments of their own kings. So of latter days it was observed that Cromwell's officers in the army, who were at first for *burning all records, for levelling of lands while they had none of their own*; yet, when afterwards they were grown rich and landed men, they fell into the praise of the English laws, and to cry up Magna Charta, as our ancestors had done with much better grace.

Another cause of popular discontents is the character of those who are ambitious of being employed, who usually are the least worthy and better servants to themselves than the government. *The needy, the ambitious, the half witted, the proud, the covetous, are ever restless to get into public employments and many others that are uneasy or ill entertained at home. The forward, the busy, the bold, the sufficient pursue their game with more passion, endeavour, application and thereby often succeed where better men would fail yet all these cover their ends with most worthy pretences, and those noble sayings, That men are not born for themselves and must sacrifice their lives for the public, as well as their time and their health: and those who think nothing less are so used to say such fine things, that such who truly believe them are almost ashamed to own it.* In the mean time, the noble the wise, the rich, the modest, those who are easy in their conditions or their minds, those who know most of the world and themselves, are not only careless, but often averse from entering into public charges or employments, unless upon the necessities of their Country or the instances of their friends. What is to be done in this case, when such as offer themselves and pursue, are not worth having, and such as are most worthy, will neither offer, nor perhaps accept. Besides men's minds may be so depraved by the viciousness, or negligence of education, by licentious customs and luxuries of youth, by ill examples, or by *lewd and corrupt principles generally infused and received among a people*, that it may be hard for the best Princes and Ministers to find subjects fit for the command of armies, or great charges of the State, and if these are ill supplied, there will be always too just occasion given for exceptions and complaints against the government, though it be ever so well framed and instituted.

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These defects and infirmities either natural or accidental, make way for another; which is more artificial, but of all others the most dangerous. For when upon these occasions, complaints and discontents are sown among well-meaning men, they are sure to be cultivated by others that are ill and interested, and who cover their own ends under those of the Public, and, by the good and service of the nation, mean nothing but their own. The practice begins of knaves upon fools, of artificial and crafty men upon the simple and the good; these easily follow and are caught, while the others lay trains and pursue a game, wherein they design no other share than of toil and danger to their company, but the gain and the quarry wholly to themselves. They blow up the sparks that fall in by chance, or could not be avoided or else throw them in wherever they find the stubble is dry: they find out miscarriages wherever they are; and forge them often where they are not; they quarrel first with the officers and then with the Prince and the State; sometimes with the execution of the Laws, and at others, with the institutions, how ancient and sacred soever. They make fears pass for dangers and appearances for truth; represent misfortunes for faults, and mole-hills for mountains; and by the persuasions of the vulgar and pretences of patriots, or lovers of their Country, at the same time they undermine the credit and authority of the government and set up their own. This raises a faction between those subjects that would support it, and those that would ruin it; or rather between those that possess the honours and advantages of it, and those that, under the pretence of reforming, design only or chiefly to change the hands it is in, and care little what becomes of the rest.

When this fire is kindled, both sides inflame it; all care of the public good is laid aside, and nothing is pursued but the interest of the factious: all regard of merit is lost in persons employed, and those only chosen, that are true to the party; and all the talent required is, to be hot, to be heady, to be violent of one side or other. When these storms are raised, the wise and the good are either disgraced or laid aside, or retire of themselves, and leave the scene free to such as are most eager, or most active to get upon the stage, or find most men ready to help them up.

From these seeds grow popular commotions, and at last seditions, which so often end in some fatal periods of the best governments, in so strong convulsions and revolutions of state; and many times make way for new institutions and forms, never intended by those who first began or promoted them, (as happened in our first Charles's time and now in France) and often determine either in setting up some tyranny at home, or bring-  
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ing in some conquest from abroad. For the animosities and hatred of the factions grow so great, that they will submit to any power, the most arbitrary and foreign, rather than yield to an opposite party at home.——It imports little, from what poor small springs the torrents of faction first arise, if they are fed with care, and improved by industry, and meet with dispositions fitted to receive and embrace them.——

Whatever the beginnings of factions are, the consequences are the same, and the ends too, of those chiefly engaged in them, *which is to act the same part in different masks, and to pursue private passions or interests under public pretences.* Upon the survey of these dispositions in mankind, and these conditions of government, it seems much more reasonable to pity, than to envy the fortunes and dignities of Princes or great Ministers of state; and to lessen and excuse their venial faults, or at least their misfortunes, rather than to increale or make them worse by ill colours and representations. For as every Prince should govern, as he would desire to be governed, if he were a subject, so every subject should obey, as he would desire to be obeyed, if he were a Prince; since this moral principle of doing as you would be done by, is certainly the most indisputed and universally allowed of any other in the world, how ill soever it may be practised by particular men. He then proceeds to suggest such precautions and regulations as he thinks are best adapted to prevent civil commotions and preserve tranquility and acquiescence in states and kingdoms. I shall cite but one of them, the others being chiefly speculations.

The first safety of princes and states lies in avoiding all councils or designs of *innovation, in ancient and established forms and laws*, especially those concerning *liberty, property, and religion* which are the possessions men will ever have most at heart.

These observations are so applicable to the present period, that they seem written with a prophetic spirit. As they come from so eminent a name, a philosopher, a politician and a man of business and affairs, \* I thought they would have more weight than if worked up into a Treatise by a present observer, who might be suspected of being biased one way or the other. They are peculiarly applicable to France, penetrate the motives of the Leaders, the conduct, disappointment and fate of the well inclined, and the present and approaching misery and ruin that infests and is hanging over that seemingly devoted country.\* God grant that similar  
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\* Sir  
Wm.  
Temple.

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\* Considering the ill use the French have made of their

insanity and wickedness may not diffuse themselves, and give the ascendancy to the Needy and the Base over the Opulent and the Noble. The Clergy are particularly called upon and interested by their duty to God and Man to check and discourage such sentiments and such views, and to recommend industry, and content, reverence for the Monarchy and obedience to the Laws. This conduct, these virtues, they should extol and enforce in their several Parishes, by every possible method, in their public discourses, in their private conversation, in their correspondence, in their favours, and in their intercourse of whatever kind with persons of every rank and of every degree.

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Liberty, the horrid excesses and outrages they have been guilty of, and their declared hostility against all crowned heads of every denomination, and all the Monarchies of Europe, perhaps it would be good policy and expressive of just indignation against the violation and contempt of the Rights of Justice and Humanity if the neighbouring powers would unite in League and Alliance against these public robbers and assassins, and divide among them a Country, which the present inhabitants are unworthy of possessing; I include them all, both those who have tamely and basely deserted and betrayed their Sovereign, and their Country, and those who have violated his sacred person and rights, subverted their Constitution and substituted in its stead, anarchy and the despotism of Lunatics, Murderers and Assassins. We have ancient pretensions to several of their richest and most fertile Provinces and have infinitely better pretences to revive our claims to them, than they have to interfere in the Government, and excite, and stimulate the subjects of other states to Sedition and Revolt, and under pretence of giving them liberty, subjecting them to their own vile and ignominious domination.

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#### ADVERTISEMENT.

**OPINIONS** so contrary to good sense and experience on the Rights of Man or Equality having been circulated here and the words made to serve so seditious a purpose by the delirium and fanaticism of French Philosophy, I thought it might be of use to consider the true meaning and import of them when applied to mankind cultivated and improved by Letters, Arts and Science, and I believe it will appear that Equality in the sense given of it by its mad adorers, never did and never can exist in civilized society.

OF



O F  
E Q U A L I T Y.

Without this just gradation, could they be  
Subjected, these to those, or all to thee?—Pope.

*Dum vitant stulti vitia, in contraria currunt.*—Horace.

**P**ROVIDENCE, or according to French Philosophy, Nature has undoubtedly made all men equal in a variety of respects. We have all an equal right to Liberty of person, to liberty of property, to liberty of thought. But here the equality terminates. The different occupations and pursuits of civilized society have ranged us in a beautiful order and gradation. Indeed, the same subordination takes place in man that is so visible in the other works of creation and providence. Observe the chain of Beings, its various links and how one rises above another. Herbs, trees, animals, irrational, rational, instinct, reason,\* men, angels, arch-angels, the stars, the planets, the moon, the sun; one star differs from another star in glory, and perhaps there is as wide a difference between some men, an illiterate peasant, and a Newton or a Locke, as between them and the angels of heaven. Even in a state of Nature, when all men are supposed to have had equal advantages of nurture, breeding, and education, a difference, an inequality would be apparent to the most careless observer; and even in that rude and barbarous state, men would be distinguished by different and unequal degrees of apprehension and intellect; one would shew more sagacity than another in whatever he engaged or was employed, in the various ways of procuring food, in pursuing and circumventing animals of chase, in guarding against the inequalities and inclemencies of the weather and seasons, by clothing or habitation; in times of tranquillity and peace by advising whatever was fittest to be done, in those of disturbance, tumult and hostility, by prudence, conduct and valour. This would naturally give an ascen-

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\* Far as Creation's ample range extends,

The scale of sensual, mental pow'rs ascends:

Mark how it mounts, to Man's imperial race,

From the green myriads in the peopled grass.—Pope.

ascendency ; such men would be looked up to, would be respected and considered, their counsel and advice would be resorted to, both in times of security and of danger. And we find this really to have been the case among the savage tribes of America with whom we have had intercourse and communication by barter or hostility. The same species of inequality, the same degrees of respect, prevailed also among the various tribes and communities dispersed and scattered over the Islands of the South Pacific Ocean, and of which we have had lately such curious and interesting accounts. Nay it was infinitely more visible among them than in the unpolished nations and tribes of America. Though their education and habits must have been pretty nearly the same, yet there was a long, gradual, subordination, a regular gradation of order, respect, honour and rank.\* Here then we find inferiority in mind, in body, in vigour, in intellect, even in savage and barbarous life. We shall meet with much stronger proofs of it in civilized society.

Where men are educated in so different a manner, have different occupations, different pursuits, different enjoyments, though their capacities and understanding were equal (which is far from being the case) the very ways in which they are employed and pass their lives, would make a difference.

We may well suppose that a man whose mind is enlightened by reading, study and reflection and whose thoughts are incessantly employed and exercised on a variety of the most interesting affairs, must be a much better judge on a number of important subjects, than one who has only his own experience to depend on and direct him, or whose whole time is occupied in manual labour, or in procuring a subsistence for himself and family ; and you would not think of putting these two characters

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\* These distinctions are so universal and so congenial to the human mind in every stage of our being, that we find them even in the *Pellew Islands*, where the natives had not yet learnt to clothe themselves and went absolutely naked. What they call the order of the Bone, (having neither gold, silver, precious stones or manufactures) is a mark and emblem of high rank and distinction among them and as eagerly desired as our orders of Knighthood. They use little or no animal food, except Pigeons, which the nobility alone or Royal Family are permitted to eat. Vid. Mr. Keate's ingenious Account of those Islands. Every one knows how much these distinctions prevailed in Egypt and the ancient Countries and what scrupulous regard is paid to them in modern civilized states, in China, Japan and the immense continent of India.



characters on a footing and paying the same degree of attention, deference and respect to the one as to the other.

It seems that some are so wild and extravagant in their ideas as to suppose that mankind would be happier were property more equally divided, and all marks and emblems of rank and distinction were abolished; but could this be effected without producing such dreadful convulsions and such fatal consequences as have disgraced and vilified in the eyes of all wise and sober men, a neighbouring kingdom, how could it be preserved and continued? For to what is owing inequality of fortune or of rank? Is it not owing to inequality of capacity, of ingenuity, of industry, of perseverance? Unless you can make all men equal in these respects, you never can in their conditions: the same causes will always produce the same effects. By violence, by murder, you may take from one and give to another, but this will not change the nature of man. Indolence, incapacity, remissness will always lose; activity, talents, assiduity will always acquire. Perhaps you think it unjust and unreasonable that such a person should have so much more than you, that he should have several houses, or rather palaces, while you have only one mean house, or a cottage, that he should be conveyed in a commodious, elegant carriage, protected from the inclemencies of the weather, while you must travel on horse-back, or perhaps on foot exposed to the wind and the rain, that he must be attended by a troop of well-dressed servants, ready to obey all his commands and watching his very looks, while you however indisposed, however harassed and fatigued, must wait upon yourself. But to what is this difference in your situations to be attributed? To superior ingenuity, sobriety, assiduity, perseverance in the envied person himself, his parents, or his forefathers, or ancestors. They acquired their lands by their œconomy, their talents; their honours by their services to their country. Himself and his ancestors from generation to generation have been distinguished for those virtues which make men prosperous; perhaps yours have been notorious for those weaknesses, defects and vices that entail, as it were, Poverty and Misery. If you think you have reason to complain, you ought rather to complain of Providence, who has thus ordered things in this world by unalterable laws, than of the Government under which you happen to live. No human regulations can counteract the laws of Nature and of Providence.\*

Under a former reign an illustrious person† upon account of his services to the Public, was by the unanimous voice of a grateful

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\* *Naturam expelles furca, tamen usque recurret.*——Horace

† The first Duke of Marlborough.

grateful people raised to the highest honours the Monarch could bestow ; a magnificent palace was built for him at the public expense, and a suitable revenue in land annexed. Would you deprive him or his posterity of their well earned honours and emoluments. Would you close the fountain of merit, would you check all future exertions in our Country's cause, would you say, Take care how you serve your Country and the Public, for if you do, though perhaps we may give you honours and estates, yet in a few years, your posterity, your children and descendants, shall be stript of them and reduced to insignificance and poverty.

Suppose a man makes a large fortune by the Law, by Physic, by Farming, by Trade by Commerce, by the Mines, you will not surely say, you have got too much, come and share it with us. Why so? for what reason? Would you act thus had you been so fortunate? My success is owing to the favour of Providence in union with my own industry and ingenuity. You cannot take a single guinea from me without the most manifest injustice: Make the case your own, and then reply.—Indeed, an equal division of property, were it practicable, could not subsist twenty years; no not one. Men are formed so variously, of talents, tempers and dispositions so different, that things would be continually recurring to their former state; to that state in which we find them in our own and in every civilized country: but could this state of equality be preserved, I am confident it would diminish the general fund of enjoyment and happiness, and instead of improving and exalting our nature, degrade and sink us into brutes. Nay this inequality so decried by modern Theorists conduces to the developement and perfection of our powers and is one of those characteristicks that distinguish us so eminently from the irrational creation, and the animals that are guided by instinct alone. In their several species they do every thing in the same way, without variation or failure; insects, birds and beasts, and seem all to be cast in the same mould. But it is not so with man, His operations are infinitely diversified, owing to the inequality of talents and capacity which Nature and Providence have given him, and which is promoted and favoured by the unequal degree of property allotted him. Were every man on the same footing in this respect what would be the consequence? We could have none of those Arts and Sciences that adorn and dignify our Nature. Every one's time and attention being employed in procuring the necessaries of Life, he would have no leisure to think of any thing else, or to raise his mind above the most degrading occupations; for leisure and inequality of condition and circumstances are the parents of



of what dignifies and enobles man and raises him above his fellow beings. To them we are indebted for whatever is sublime in Science, whatever is ornamental in Life. The productions of Philosophy, of Theology, of Poetry, of Music, of Painting, of Architecture, all owe their origin to them. Nay, those very arts that are most conducive to the ease, the comfort, the satisfaction of human Life, all owe their existence and improvements to leisure and inequality, to many working, while a few are apparently tho' not really idle. So false are the notions at present attempted to be disseminated on this subject, and inequality of condition so far from being an injury or debasement of his nature, is the sole, the efficient cause of whatever is worthy of praise or admiration in man.

Let us then not listen to the absurd theories of restless and factious spirits, of men who having nothing themselves, wish to invade the property of others, of men who unwilling to submit to the slow methods of industry, perseverance and œconomy, would take from the Rich their justly acquired and well earned wealth by force and violence; who being desperate in their fortunes wish to involve every thing in confusion, in hopes that amidst the general anarchy, the violence, the blood, the murder, they may get something themselves and rise into eminence.

Such are the motives and the causes that have involved a neighbouring kingdom in its present troubles; that have given rise to scenes of the most unparalled depravity and wickedness; that have taken from the Worthy to give to the Base, that from the accounts of eye-witnesses, who shuddered with horror at what they saw, have rendered not only the Capital and its neighbourhood, but even the most distant provinces, a spectacle that would disgrace Barbarians and Savages; houses in flames, or in ruins, being first polluted by rape and murder; or if the legal proprietors could with their families escape the fires and the daggers of the assassins, driven into exile, and their property confiscated, and to exclude even Hope, threatened, by what they call their Convention, with death if they return. The property of the industrious farmer and shopkeeper seized by bands of armed peasants, who either fix their own price upon it, take it by violence or waste it in sport and riot; no protection, no safety to any order or rank of men.

Such is the scene exhibited to astonished Europe in a Country, where, tho' they talk of nothing but Liberty and Equality, there is no Liberty, not even the smallest vestige of it; where whoever had the virtue or the courage to dissent from the lawless crew who had got the power into their hands by the most iniquitous methods, by flattering and working up

or the vilest of the vile; were either obliged to fly, or were assassinated with circumstances of the most wanton and deliberate cruelty; and not only our own sex, but even females, ladies whose youth, and beauty and noble birth, would have protection from their outrages, had not the perpetrators been Demons in human shape; where the presses were burnt and the printers massacred that dared to circulate opinions contrary to their own; where every method and every artifice was used, by combinations, by clubs, by public harangues in the streets and from the pulpits, by hand-bills, by newspapers, by pamphlets, to misrepresent the conduct, manners and character of their Sovereigns and to mislead and inflame the multitude;\* where the ancient constitution instead of being improved, was overturn'd, where the Noble, the Wise and the Opulent, were supplanted by the Base, the Illiterate and the Needy, and where these hypocritical and pretended lovers of Peace and Liberty are aiming at conquests by the most treacherous methods, by declaring hostility and war against all princes and all kings however good and virtuous, by exciting their subjects to sedition and revolt, and then instead of giving them the phantom Liberty subjecting them to their own ignominious and vile domination. Yet these are,---What shall I call them? These are the wretches not men, whom even some are so misled and infatuated in our own Country as to applaud and extol to the skies and even hold up to our imitation: they congratulate, they correspond with them; they invite them to what they term Fraternity. Fraternity in Sedition and Anarchy, in Blood and in Murder: like them by every insidious and indirect method, by combination, by festival meetings, by every channel of the Press, by secret emissaries dispatched through the Country on purpose and even into the most distant parts of the Kingdom,† they endeavour to excite and diffuse, discontent and insurrection traduce and malign our form of Government,

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\* Vid. Du Pouvoir Executif dans les Grands Etats & Réflexions Présentées a la Nation Francaise sur le Procès intenté a Louis 16th. --- Par M. Necker.

† Wretches of this description have been sent even as far as the most Western parts of Cornwall, circulating and giving away libellous and seditious little Pamphlets calculated to impose on and seduce the ignorant common people, entering into conversation with them for the same purpose, and endeavouring to infuse into their minds the most unfounded prejudices against the Government and those who administer it. Some of them are well dressed, but they take care to keep out of the way of people of condition and to conceal their places of retreat.



ment, tho' the least imperfect and the best calculated to make men happy and prosperous that ever existed in the annals of the World; they boast of the Rights of Man, the meaning of which is, that all Mankind since the World began, have been fools but themselves, that all men are equal, and that neither virtue, nor knowledge, nor fortune, nor the emblems of merit, station and rank give one a superiority over another. Weak, silly, unphilosophical, the dreams of children or lunatics! These distinctions always have and always will subsist, they are essential to civilized society; you may indeed destroy the name, but the thing itself will always remain, and in spite of Theory and Speculation, men will always be respected in proportion to their birth, their knowledge, their rank, their station and their fortune.

The manner of these reflections may appear warm to the Moderate, may be condemned by the Prejudiced, but when Safety, Property, Honour, Morality, Humanity, Religion, every thing dear and every thing valuable and sacred are attacked and at stake, what breast can be so cool and insensible as not to take fire and give vent to its honest indignation?

Whatever may be alledged by Theoretical Reformers in union with the Disappointed and the Necessitous, every unprejudiced person will acknowledge that by the favour of Providence, under our present form of Government, we have been prosperous and happy for a long series of years. Every individual is freer and more at his ease here, than any subject, citizen, call him what you please, in any other country of the World. The Rich cannot oppress the Poor; nay, let a rich man but strike a poor man, though perhaps justly provoked by his insolence and ingratitude and a thousand Lawyers are ready at his nod, and even glad of the opportunity to ease the too hasty rich man of part of his wealth. The rich cannot have their riches taken from them. Nor should they, for it is not here as in absolute and despotic governments where the Rich and the Great are in a manner exempted from Taxes and the public burthens. On the contrary they bear by far the heaviest share of them and pay severely for every comfort, convenience and elegance they possess above their fellow subjects.\* If they have fine houses, or  
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\* A person by having a great fortune does not appropriate it to himself: he may be compared to a copious river from which issue a thousand streams to refresh and fertilize

carriages, or servants: they pay in proportion to their size, magnificence and number. The law protects the Needy as well as the Affluent. Science, Virtue, Religion, Charity in general reign among us. In our several ranks and stations, we enjoy every comfort and every satisfaction of which our nature is capable. We have only to be duly sensible and grateful for these blessings and by which we are so eminently distinguished from the surrounding Nations. O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint.

fertilize the earth; the farmer, the merchant, the physician, the lawyer, the architect, the painter, the musician, the man of Letters, the artist, the manufacturer, all the trades, the arts and the callings, of civilized and polished life have their share of what he receives; and were not property unequally divided and even to a very high degree in this manner, had not a Few a great deal, More a moderate and competent provision, and Most little or nothing but what they got by their own industry or ingenuity. Human Life would metaphorically be a dreary desert; without flower, or shrub, or tree. How wise then and good is Providence for having established inequality of property and consequently of rank and condition, by which subordination is supported and men are prevented by mutual and reciprocal attentions, respects and services from perpetual animosities and perpetual quarrels. As to certain great persons near the Throne having suitable emoluments, this is absolutely necessary to diffuse a degree of splendour round the Monarch, is no injury to the Public and is not felt by any one. Nay in spite of narrow minded and short sighted cavillers, I will venture to assert that the money could not be better or more judiciously applied: it circulates and gives life to Arts and Manufacture and is more beneficially employed for the State in general than if appropriated to some of the wild schemes of our modern reforming, political projectors.

December 23, 1793.



